535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
[302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal
[533] white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a
574 mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
● 541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed [541] at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) 535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu·du) [613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" (as being the family emblem). She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'ow·ts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, al- [293] though J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so·n·l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

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W Y 796 825 751 756 [541]

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

W Y 796 541

Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tuñno given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa'na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

W Y [789]

S.O. could not say who provided this.

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

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men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and Il‹´pča. (Il‹´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.---The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'‹č, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not brought a winatum with him, the local chief would assign one to assist him. After the money had all been discovered, a shaman came on the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

W Y 796 541 789 756

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

Pleasure Dance.---This dance (h‹´šna´n‹č) was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

W Y 535

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

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622 439 556

he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further.

622 756 541 574 [431]

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums.

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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622 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured
756 his magical "air-shot" (toiyue). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when
he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his
money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit
541 and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious.
574 Pao'ite's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'ite's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'ite received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'ite totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary
622 citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often
556 made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis
574 for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

651 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or
541 Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

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chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance.

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Non-contributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section.

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony *contribute on the spot produced the same result.*

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsmumi, the other two at

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Josaps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutununtu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Josaps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Josaps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19. Their captain Josaps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer